

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00  
PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00  
DODE-00 PRS-01 L-03 /063 W  
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O R 031646Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1196  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 03620

NOFORN

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: EEC, UK, CSCE  
SUBJECT: MARCH 1-2 POLITICAL DIRECTORS DISCUSSION OF  
CSCE

1. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TOOK NOTE OF THE WORKING  
GROUP PAPERS ON PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF NEW WESTERN  
PROPOSALS FOR BELGRADE AND SOVIET TACTICS FOR THE  
REVIEW CONFERENCE. THEY INSTRUCTED THE EXPERTS TO  
CONTINUE TO TRY TO DEVELOP NEW PROPOSALS SINCE AT THE  
MOMENT THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS AMONG THE NINE ON THIS  
MATTER. THE EXPERTS CONCLUDED THAT SOVIET OBJECTIVES  
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AT BELGRADE WOULD BE:

- A) THAT THE MAIN BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD BE  
SHORT AND AS UNPOLEMICAL AS POSSIBLE, IRRESPECTIVE  
OF THE LENGTH OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS;
- B) THAT THE AIM SHOULD BE TO OBTAIN A REAFFIRMA-  
TION BY THE 35 PARTICIPATING STATES OF THE LASTING  
VALUE OF DETENTE AS CONCEIVED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND

OF RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION IN  
INTERNAL AFFAIRS;

C) THAT THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION (IN SO FAR  
AS IT IS NECESSARY) SHOULD BE CONDUCTED SO AS TO  
RESULT IN THE MINIMUM PUBLIC CRITICISM OF SOVIET  
AND EAST EUROPEAN INTERNAL PRACTICES;

D) THAT THE DISCIPLINE OF THE WARSAW PACT STATES  
SHOULD NOT BE IMPAIRED;

E) THAT EMPHASIS BE GIVEN TO THE "FORWARD  
LOOKING" ASPECTS OF CSCE: IN THIS CONTEXT THE RUSSIANS  
ARE LIKELY TO STRESS THE NEED FOR "POLITICAL DETENTE"  
TO BE COMPLEMENTED BY "MILITARY DETENTE," AND PAN-  
EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL  
FIELDS.

THE ATTITUDES OF THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, WITH  
THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF ROMANIA, ARE SIMILAR TO THE  
SOVIET IN MOST RESPECTS.

THESE TWO PAPERS WILL BE TABLED IN THE NEAR FUTURE IN  
NA.TO.

2. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION ON HOW THE EC  
SHOULD REACT TO THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS AND WHAT THEIR  
RELATIONSHIP MIGHT BE TO ECE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
STANOVNIK'S ALTERNATIVE APPROACH. MOST OF THE EC  
REPRESENTATIVES BELIEVED THAT THE SUGGESTIONS PUT  
FORWARD BY STANOVNIK PROVIDED THE NINE WITH A GOOD  
NEGOTIATING PLOY TO DEFLECT THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS  
IN BELGRADE, AND THAT THE COMMUNITY SHOULD RESPOND  
FAVORABLY TO STANOVNIK'S IDEAS, MAKING CLEAR THEY  
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COULD ONLY BE PURSUED WITHIN THE ECE IN GENEVA. THE  
BRITISH WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THE NINE DECIDE TO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 03620

SUPPORT ONE OR POSSIBLY TWO OF HIS PROPOSALS, PERHAPS THE ONE ON ENVIRONMENT, BUT NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED. IN SUM, THE QUESTION OF THE EC'S REACTION TO STANOVNIK'S SUGGESTIONS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO BELGRADE REMAINS UNDECIDED.

3. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE DIRECTED THE WORKING GROUP TO STAND DOWN ON THE QUESTION OF THE COMMISSION'S REPRESENTATION AT BELGRADE WHICH THE EC WILL RETURN TO LATER.

4. THERE WAS A LENGTHY DISCUSSION ON METHODS OF  
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EVALUATION AND REG HIBBERT PUT FORWARD THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTION. THERE WOULD BE AN OPEN PLENARY OF THREE WEEKS AT THE OUTSET OF THE MAIN CONFERENCE IN WHICH THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD GO THROUGH THE BASKETS AND ALL DELEGATIONS WOULD HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE POINTS THEY BELIEVED RELEVANT. DIFFICULT ISSUES (UNDEFINED BY HIBBERT) WHICH EMERGED FROM THESE GENERAL PLENARY DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE REFERRED TO CLOSED COMMITTEES FOR DETAILED WORK AND, THAT HAVING BEEN DONE, WOULD BE LATER RETURNED TO RECONVENED PLENARY NEAR THE END OF THE MEETING. THIS APPROACH COMMENDED ITSELF TO MOST DELEGATIONS INCLUDING THE FRENCH. ONLY THE DUTCH RESISTED, AND THE BRITISH ARE CONFIDENT THAT AN AGREEMENT ALONG THESE LINES WILL BE WORKED

OUT IN THE WEEKS AHEAD BY THE EC.

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
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22 May 2009  
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